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THE PROBLEM OF THE NAZI UNDERGROUND

Description

21 August 1944

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Summary

1. Although the Nazis would not officially announce any plans for the creation of an underground to continue the war after German defeat, there are indications that a subversion organization will be established to oppose the occupation forces and prepare for a revival of Nazi power.

2. A future underground may be inspired by the example of the activists who continued to fight against the Versailles peace settlement for several years after the last war. The Free Corps and the secret military leagues, made up of officers, soldiers, and others drawn from conservative-Nationalist elements, worked out a technique of illegal action which found support in many German circles. Using the methods of undeclared war, murder and terrorism, the Free Corps fought to prevent any changes in the frontiers and to resist any separatist movement which developed in the German states. Internally, the Free Corps helped to suppress the left-wing revolutionary movement in 1919-1920.

3. The Free Corps, called into existence by the Provisional Government in 1919 to serve as temporary defence forces, defied the government order to disband in 1920 and continued their operations as secret organizations. They aimed to overthrow the Weimar government, rearm Germany, and abrogate the Versailles Treaty. By reason of the attitude of the judiciary and the army, the political state was not able to suppress the secret groups or punish the perpetrators of the numerous Feme murders.

4. Ater the stabilization of econonic conditions in Germany, many members of the secret groups found peaceful employment, but the activists continued their fight by joining

the Nazi Party. At the present time, many Free Corps men occupy positions of great promimence in Nazi affairs. The Nazis leave glorified the actions of the illegal groups as part of the struggle to indicate German national honor.

5. A situation comparable to 1919 will exist in Germany after the war. Violent reactions to defeat and military occupation may inspire a new group of activists to continue the war by illegal means. The elite and militant groups in the Nazi Party, long trained in the methods of subversion, could provide the necessary personnel and ideology for an underground. Support may be drawn from any nationalist circles opposing the peace which will be imposed on Germany.

6. There are numerous indications that the Nazis are preparing to establish an underground movement. Their propaganda stresses fighting to the last man, and the training of the German people in the use of arms may create the will and the ability to resist after defeat. The leadership of an underground would be in the hands of Nazi agents who are the products of the elite schools and specially trained formations. The movement, financed either by German groups or by Party friends deposited abroad, may consist of partisan bands, saboteurs acting as individuals or in small cells, or camouflaged societies which continue the war in the name of German nationalism.

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE NAZI UNDERGROUND

One of the important problems which will face the allied occupation authorities and will complicate future international controls in Germany is the possiblity of an "underground" seeking political aims opposed to allied policy and military security. The incentive for the formation of organzations to continue the war by illegal means can be derived from two important sources in German society. One may be found in the persistence of the tradition of nationalist political activism which produced the Free Corps and illegal military leagues after the last war to fight against the peace settlement and the Weimar government, The Nazi Party is trained alike in methods of political subversion and in the ideology of the German "mission" to play a dominant role in world politics. The ideas of nationalism and patriotism, the reluctance of former dominant groups to accept a second defeat in the twentieth century, and the presence of occupation forces may lead to an illegal fight to reconstruct German power. The Nazis provide the obvious leadership for such activity.

Obviously, the Nazis have not publicized any plans for the illegal continuation of the war after their defeat. At the same time activist and militant members will probably adopt precisely this method of fighting their enemies at home and abroad. This opinion finds expression, for example, in publicity concerning the "NN Plan" (Nach Niederlage Plan). There are indications that preparations by Nazi leaders are now in progress to revive German power by adapting their historic methods of subversive action to the conditions which will exist in Germany in the period following military defeat.

The problem of a possible Nazi underground involves a consideration of an ideology which motivates the activists and an organization which directs any future subversive work. A convenient ideology already exists in the persistence of the traditions surrounding the Nachkriegskämpfer of 1918. The Nazis, giving widespread publicity to the Free Corps and the secret military leagues have adopted them as their own historical predecessors, glorifying their actions as a fight to avenge German national honor. The Free Corps tradition, amplified by many aspects of Nazi ideology, may provide a nationalist orientation for illegal action which would have the advantage of attracting support for illegal action from those who would not necessarily support a Nazi movement.

A future organization of subversive action can only be implied at the present time. However, clues concerning future organization may be drawn from the historical examples of [redacted] activism in Germany, especially in the period after the last war. The future underground may find it useful to identify themselves with these historical struggles for a greater Germany.

II. ILLEGAL ACTIVITY AFTER THE LAST WAR

A. The Free Corps

1. The Origin and Composition of the Free Corps. In contemplating the defeat and revolution, in 1918-1919 the German nationalists found many historical examples of activity against foreign control. Examples were drawn from the Middle Ages and the Thirty Years War, but the chief inspiration came from the German struggle against French and Austrian control in the early nineteenth century. The youth organizations and student groups

formed at that time and continued throughout the nineteenth century, were revived after the defeat in 1918. The methods of negating the limitations on the Prussian Army in 1806 were idealized as the proper way to create a body of trained reserves to strengthen the small army permitted in the Treaty of Versailles. One of the great heroes of post-Versailles Germany was Major von Schill who formed a volunteer group of officers from the Brandenburg Hussarenregiment and marched into Westphalia in 1809 to support a popular uprising against Napoleon. Von Schill and another legendary hero, Adolf von Lützow, were regarded as the spiritual founders of the "post war fighters" of 1918, and their names were attached to important Free Corps formed to carry on the fight for German power.[1]

In 1918-1919 the lack of control either by the German government or Allied authority permitted the revival of activist nationalism directed against the Weimar Republic and those foreign states held responsible for the limitations on national sovereignty and territorial changes made in the boundaries of prewar Germany. The actions of the Free Corps were directed with equal violence against Poles, Russians, French, and the "November criminals" who were alleged to have stabbed the German army in the back. The stab in the back legend united the activites of the illegal groups and those who operated through the German parliamentary system in opposing the republic.

The Provisional German Government established as a result of the Revolution was faced early in 1919 by left wing insurrections aiming at the creation of a state and society

1. F.W. von Oertzen, Die deutschen Freikorps, München, 1938, viii-ix

based on the successful example of the Russian Bolshevists. The characteristic revolutionary device of 1918-19 was the Workers and Soldiers Council, comparable at least in form to the soviets which carried the Russian Revolution to a successful conclusion. The councils (Räte) in Germany were generally formed by garrison troops whose emergence as a governing power was deeply resented by the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the front army. The workers on the councils were indentified in the nationalistic mind with Spartacus, which in turn was believed to be plotting the Bolshevisation of Germany. The violence of the Free Corps was turned against the Räterepublik; the nature of their struggle aided the development of the reactionary doctrines of racial nationalism. In addition to revolutionary threats, the confusion of the postwar years permitted the revival of separatist and particularist activities which had long been dormant. Separatism was in direct conflict with the nationalist aims of the Free Corps which fought to prevent any dismemberment of Germany.

The existence of revolutionary activity and fear of separatism conflicted with the outlook of the officers corps and the conservative-nationalist groups. Likewise, it aroused the fear of the Social Democrats in Berlin who possessed no means of defence against the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces. The confusion which attended defeat and demobilization provided opportunities for action by the forces both of extreme right and left. Both groups capitalized on the unemployment and inflation, and condemned the government which accepted the imposition of Allied peace terms.

The Officers criticized particularly the pacifist and "middle class" policy of the Weimar state which they held responsible for the situation in Germany. As long as adverse social conditions existed, the Free Corps and illegal organizations were able to recruit many members. When economic stabilization was achieved after 1924, the Free Corps and their camouflaged organizations were dissolved and the bulk of the members absorbed into normal civilian activity. The extremists in the movement, however, continued the fight until the republic was destroyed in 1933. It is not possible to list all the Free Corps, Home Defence Leagues, Border Defence Leagues, Academic Guards and countless other groups which sprang up in all parts of Germany in the confused days which followed the destruction of the centralized authority and military power of the Imperial German state in 1918.[1] The Free Corps, which are of the greatest traditionalist importance of these groups, developed through two stages. In terms of their origin, they were theoretically established by the Social Democratic Minister of Defence, Gustav Noske, as volunteer forces to suppress internal disorder and guard the frontiers. In this sense, the Free Corps can be construed as "legal" institutions serving the republic as transitional defence forces pending the establishment of the Reichswehr and a police force. They took an oath to support the government and protect the Fatherland. After the establishment of security forces, however, the Free Corps continued to operated as illegal bodies in defiance both of a government order to disband, and the law for the defence of the Republic (1920) which forbade the ext

1. (Unless otherwise stated, the material in this section is based on a memorandum Die Deutschen Militärbünde, 1919-23 prepared for the Central European Section by E.J.Gumbel)

existence of military leagues.

The Free Corps originated officially in December 1918 in Berlin, although some of them, as the Rossbach Brigade, date from the time of the armistice in November. The General Staff acting on the suggestion of Kurt von Schleicher authorized enlistments in volunteer groups in December 1918 to provide for border defence and general security troops in the Reich.[1] Under the provisions of this authorization, a Free Corps was established by General Maercker composed of officers and men picked from the 214th Division in Berlin, The great majority of the men selected for the Freiwillige Landes-Jägerkorps were front line sergeants, while the officers were the professionals of the old Imperial officers corps.[2] Maercker offered his Free Corps to the government, and their slogan "For Law and Order against Spartacus" appealed to Noske who was faced with the problem of suppressing Communist disorder without effective military forces. This development in Berlin was paralleled by the formation of hundreds of volunteer defence groups in all parts of Germany.

The average Free corps was a volunteer military organization grouped around a leader. Its group life was controlled by the traditions of authoritarian military discipline and obedience inherited from the Imperial Army. The word of the leader of the corps was absolute and he could punish severely any infractions of the rules, which were either made by the leader who recruited the group or based on the model of the Grundleger Befehl of the

(1-Gerhardt Thomée, Der Wiederaufsteig des Deutschen Heeres, 1919-30, Berlin, 1939, pp. 13-23; Von Schleicher, later a general and Chancellor was killed in the Blood Purge of 1934).
(2-J. Benoist-Méchin, History of the German Army since the Armistice, Zurich, 1939, I, 116; General von Maercker, Vom Kaiserheer zum Reichswehr. Geschichte des Freiwilligen Landes-Jägerkorps, Leipzig, 1921)

Maercker Landes-Jägerkorps. These regulations, which reflected the Prussian military traditions, were enforced by non-commissioned officers assisted by Vertrauensleute in the ranks. The punishment for the betrayal of the secrets of the groups, about personnel or sources of funds and munitions, was death, a procedure which developed into the Feme murders. The Free Corps are an important factor in spreading the conception of authoritarian rule as each group operated strictly on the leadership principle.

The composition of the Free Corps varied, but the majority of the members was drawn from the officers and front soldiers of the old army. One of the outstanding Free Corps men, Ernst von Salomann, makes the point that the members cannot be classified as sociological types or members of any specific economic status or age group.[1] He claims that the postwar fighters were motivated solely by considerations of patriotism and were "united in spirit" with nationalistic fighters of all types in German history. Nevertheless, the bulk of the members came from the ranks of the professional officers, landlords and others from rural areas, -- in general from the conservative groups in German society which feared the spread of Communism and the growth in political power of the proletariat and the urban petty bourgeoisie. In political matters, the officers did not consider themselves as servants of the state or as officials, but as representatives and protectors of the monarchical ideal. A deep gulf separated them from the ordinary soldiers and the civilian population. For the most part, the members of the Free

1. Ernst von Salomann, Nahe Geschichte pp. 18-19.

Corps were either young men who had known no profession but that of fighting, or officers who had received no vocational training except in military tactics. They were the activists who could not adapt themselves to republican and peaceful life and who sought to protect their ideological and vocational interests by violent action against a wide variety of alleged enemies.[1]

The over-throw of the monarchy and the rise of bourgeois government, the limitation of the army to 100,000 men, and the destruction of the social basis of the once dominant officer group, created a problem of social integration which the Weimar state was never able to solve. In the revolutionary period immediatelly following defeat, the officers regarded the members of the politically powerful Soldiers and Workers Councils as Schweine. When the front army marched home, many officers were assaulted in the streets by the revolutionaries and insignia and decorations were torn off their uniforms. The Army was demobilized under the authority of the councils and the officers were turned loose with little hope of employment. The Allied peace terms, as well as the attitude of the Weimar government, made it evident that the vast majority of the former officers would not be able to pursue their military

1. (No statistics have ever been collected concerning the social status and age groups of the personnel of the Free Corps. The following table of ages represented in the Corps is based on the ages of the German members of Major Fletcher's Baltische Landeswehr who were killed in action in the Baltic war. These figures are derived from Die Baltische Landeswehr, herausgegeben von Baltische Landeswehrverein, 1929.

Age-	No.killed	Age	No. Killed
15	4	25	17
16	6	26	14
17	19	27	10
18	33	28	13
19	41	29	5
20	31	30 to 35	13
21	21	36 to 40	5
22	28	41 to 50	17
23	22	over 50	6
24	29		

careers or obtain employment consistent with their honor and sense of importance. The limitation of the army to 100,000 men destroyed the personal future of the officers as well as humiliating the national honor of Germany. The Free Corps, therefore, served a dual purpose--they provided paid employment in the honorable profession of arms, and at the same time provided means for rebuilding the honor and power of defeated Germany.

In addition to the officers the Free Corps attracted the front soldiers, who after four years of war, were accustomed to a life filled with continuous fighting. A mythology was developed in Germany after the last war extolling the virtues of the Frontsoldaten. They were idealized in nationalistic literature and the outlook attributed to them was important in motivating the Free Corps as well as all conservative-nationalist politics. Various organizations were founded to perpetuate the spirit of "comradeship" of the front soldiers or to extend that spirit to German youth who had not been engaged in war. One of the best descriptions of the outlook of the front soldiers was written by Ernst von Salomann, who was never at the front. In speaking of the reactions of the Maercker Landesjägerkorps to the announcement of the peace terms, he says of the front soldier:

"They had not yet got over the war. War had moulded them; it had given a meaning to their lives and a reason for their existence. They were unruly and untamed, beings apart, who gathered themselves into little companies animated by a desire to fight. There were plenty of standards around which they might rally. There were still plenty of strongholds to be attacked, plenty of enemies still encamped around them.

They realized that this peace was a delusion and they would have no part in it. An unfailing instinct kept them in the army. They fought anywhere and everywhere because they liked fighting. They wandered around the country because they saw the chance of fresh excitement, because new adventures beckoned to them. Yet each one had a different idea of what he wanted. The master word had not been given... the word was weatherworn, yet enticing, potent but unsubstantial, idealized in the subconscious but unspoken, The word was 'Germany'."1

In 1919, the Free Corps advertised for volunteers, promising good pay and psychological compensations of military life. The posters which appeared in the German cities illustrate the outlook which bound these groups together. Some of the typical posters said:

"The Brown Hussars require volunteers for the defence of our frontiers.. only the energetic collaboration of every one of you can protect us from invasion. Anyone who loves horses and prefers the strictest discipline and justice to anarchy should enlist in the glorious 4th Regiment of the Brown Hussars. Signed: von Aulock."

"Forward the Hussars! The Hussars Cassel-Hesse-Homburg are to be revived. Uniforms the same as in the past, but added will be fir twigs, embroidered on a green ground, Attila collars and death heads on the caps."

"Loyal Germans. The Fatherland is in danger. If you would prevent our frontiers from being torn from us by force, enlist in the Free Corps of Scholss Thorn. Good food and pay assured. Daily rate of pay 5 Marks. Conditions: complete military instruction, papers of demobilization in good order; good discipline, patriotic opinions and faithful to the government."2

1. (Ernst von Salomann, The Outcasts, London, 1930, pp.57-58).
2. (Quoted in Benoist-Méchin, p. 149 ff).

The appeal of Noske for volunteers, says one famous Free Corps fighter, "provided us with the very chance we sought from our present soul destroying inactivity."[1]

The Free Corps rapidly developed a mythology in justification of their existence. The names of Yorck, Schill, Lützow, Bismarck, Hindenburg and other nationalist heroes appeared on their standards. The flag of the Ehrhardt Marine Brigade contained the symbol of a Viking ship, while the Hamburg Free Corps in the Baltische Landeswehr carried above the Hansa flag the black pennant of the famous pirate Klaus Störtebecker. Many Free Corps men pictured themselves as the successors of the Teutonic Knights who brought "a new faith and a new race into the world" and saved Germany from "the Asiatic hordes".[2] Other groups, particularly the Rossbach Brigade, not only spoke in terms of German nationalism, but openly glorified the male society of the Free Corps and regarded homosexuality as differentiating them from the ordinary civilian population.

2. ~~III.~~ THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLUTION IN GERMANY. l.c.

The Berlin government called the Free Corps into existence in 1919 to suppress the Communist uprisings. In Berlin, the Spartacist insurrections were crushed with great violence and the leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were "shot while attempting to escape." The same pattern

1. (Glombowski, Frontiers of Terror, p. 22)
2. (Salomann, The Outcasts, 61-65; Nahe Geschichte, 18-19).

was used in suppressing the Spartacus movement and the Räterepublik throughout Germany. After the assasination of Kurt Eisner, the Free Corps of southern Germany converged on Munich to destroy the Soviet Republic, while those of northern Germany marched on the Communist stronghold in Hamburg. In Western Germany, the corps were not so successful in opposing the revolutionaries. The Freikorps Lützow was driven out of Remscheid and was saved only by flight across the demarcation line into occupied territory. The Freikorps Lichtschlag was wiped out at Wetter-am-Rhin. The use of these volunteer corps against the revolutionary elements of the German population strengthened the existing mutual antagonisms between the conservative-nationalist groups and the proletariat. Yet the government had little choice but to entrust its defence to groups which were determined to overthrow the republic. So much did the government fear the violence of the left wing that it brought the Maercker Landes-Jägerkorps to Weimar in 1919 to guard the National Assembly while it wrote the constitution.

The use of the Free Corps to suppress the revolution did a great deal to substantiate the anti-Bolshevist and anti-democratic attitudes which were finally integrated into the totalitarian philosophy of the Third Reich. This viewpoint is well illustrated in the famous marching song of the Ehrhardt Brigade which fought in the Baltic, marched on Berlin in the Kapp putsch, and was responsible for the political murders after the war;

"Kamerad, reich mir die Hände,
Fest wollen susammen wir stehn.
Mag man uns auch bekämpfen
Der Geist soll nicht verwehn.
Hakenkreuz am Stahlhelm,
Schwarzweissrot das Band,
Die Brigade Ehrhardt
Werden wir genannt.

Arbeiter, Arbeiter,
Wie mag es dir ergehn,
Wenn die Brigade Ehrhardt
Wird einst in Waffen stehn?

Die Brigade Ehrhardt
Schlägt alles kurz und klein.
Wehe dir, wehe dir
Du Arbeiterschwein.

Einst wird man es erkennen,
Was man an uns verlorn.
Kamerad reich mir die Hände,
Was wir uns einst geschworen:
Erhardts -- Geist im Herzen
Kann nicht untergehen.
Die Brigade Ehrhardt
Wird einst auferstehn.

3. The War on the German Frontiers.

The war on the German frontiers after the armistice was of greater importance in the formulation of the traditions of continous fighting and in the development of subversive techniques. The first phase of Free Corps activity on the frontiers was in the Baltic states of Latvia, Esthonia and Luthuania which had been occupied by German troops since the time of the Russian Revolution and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The armistice in 1918 specifically called for the withdrawal of the Germans, but after the threatened invasion of the Baltic states by the Red Army, the Allies did not press the demands for the evacuation of the German troops. The German troops under the control of General von der Golz were combined into several units. The Iron Division, was made up of numerous Free Corps; the Baltische Landeswehr included German Free Corps, White Russians, and Latvians; and the Landeswehr composed almost exclusivily of Balt landlords. The Latvian government promised citizenship, land, and pay to all German volunteers who served for a minimum of four weeks in these formations. In April 1919, the Balt landlords in the Landeswehr overthrew the Latvian Government and established a military dictatorship which was supported by the Germans.

In the face of an Allied demand to disband his corps, von der Golz invaded Esthonia and was roundly defeated in the battle of Wenden. The Germans persisted in their refusal to withdraw from Latvia despite the retreat of the Red Army until the Allies threatened a renewal of the blockade. The German government finally decreed that all Germans who had not returned across the frontier by 11 November 1919 would lose their citizenship.

The Baltic war is important is establishing the traditions of Free Corps activity and solidarity. The personnel, drawn from all parts of Germany, and led by the East Prussian aristocracy, fought against the Red Army in full realization that they were combatting "Bolshevism" at home. They fought with the approval of the German government which provided them with arms, munitions, and uniforms from the stores of the Imperial Army. The ultimate authority over the Baltische Landerswehr and the Iron Division was the Latvian Governments, but in reality the German formations were free-booting expeditions, approved by the German government and General Staff, intent on fighting and seizing land. Von der Golz planned the establishment of an independent buffer state in the Baltic made up of German soldier-farmers who would be constantly prepared to defend Germany and the world against Russian Bolshevism.

The order from the German government in 1919 to disband and turn in their arms was read by the leaders to the Free Corps, but they refused to comply. The major groups marched back to Germany to become the armed bands of the counter revolution believing they were carrying out a "world mission" of combatting "the unholy consequences of Russian Bolshevism".

Their objective of a military coup against the Weimar state was revealed by the march of the German corps from Riga to Berlin to participate in the Kapp Putsch of 1920.

Note:

1 - The government order of dissolution was answered by a manifesto entitled "An das deutsche Vaterland und alle Kulturvölker der Erde". It was issued in the name of the following Free Corps: Schützenregiment Baltenland, Freikorps Stever, Gruppe von Plehve, Freikorps von Brudnis, Badisches Sturmbataillon, Gruppe von Jena, Freikorps von Wildemann, Freikorps von Weickhmann, Freikorps von Medem and Freikorps Riekoff. The "world duty" of the Free Corps was stated in the following terms:

> "Irret Euch, deutsche Brüder, wiegt Euch nicht in Sicherheit, die ihr Alle eine Kultur zu verteidigen habt, dass die Hemmungslosigkeit des Bolshevismus nicht auf Euch zerissen könnte. Lasst Euch nicht blinden, weil die wilde Katze, die in Euren eigenen Grenzen aufwachsen ist, zur Zeit die Augen geschlossen hat. Sie ist nich tot, sie schläft nicht. Sie schmeidet im geheimen furchtbare Pläne und liegt auf der Lauer. Verwechselt nicht diesen Ausbund menschlicher Irrlehren, mit der Wahrheit einer sozialen Weltanschauung. Wir, die wir aus der Taufe der deutschen Revolution hervorgegangen sind, machdem wir den furchtbaren Weltkrieg mitgemacht haben, wir kennen die Wahrheit und die wirkliche Kraft auf diese Weltanschauung in sich trägt. Nicht gegen sie richten sich unsere "affen. Nein. Um sie zu erkämpfen und zu retten, wollen wir hier aushalten für Euch. Eine anausweisbare Pflicht dem Vaterland und eine erhabene Aufgabe der Menschheit gegenüber wollen wir erfüllen. Wir zittern für unsere Brüdern und Schwestern, wir fürchten für die Kultur der ganzen Welt... die grosse....Idee für die wir Kampfen und sterben wollen, den gemeinsamen Kampf zur Verteidigung dieser höchsten Religion gegenüber dem tödlichen Gift der entarteten Bolshevismus."1

1. (Darstellungen aus den Nachkriegskämpfer deutscher Truppen und Freikorps, Die Kampfe um Baltikum nach der zweiten Einnahme von Riga, 1938, III, 193-41.

The effort to overthrow the Weimar state in the Kapp Putsch was based on the military power of the Ehrhardt Marine Brigade and other Free Corps. The Ehrhardt Brigade marched into Berlin on 13 March 1920 where it was greeted by Lundendorff and numerous Reichswehr generals, as von Lettow-Vorbeck, von Bermuth, von Groddeck, von Lonberg, von der Hardt and Admiral von Levetzow. The genius of the Kapp Putsch was not Kapp, but Ehrhardt who was regarded in conservative-nationalist circles as the potential "saviour" of Germany. His objective was the overthrow of the republic and the establishment of a military dictatorship which would recover Germany's lost prestige and prepare the way for the restoration of the monarchy. The Brigade, composed largely of former naval officers, represented the aristocracy and ultra-conservative social groups. The helmets of the troops bore the swastika emblem. It had been under government orders in the winter quarters at Doberitz after the return from the Baltic, but the march on Berlin under the Imperial flag marked the beginning of its long career as an illegal military body. Many smaller Free Corps flocked to the Ehrhardt standard and local insurrections took place in several parts of Germany. The putsch, however, was centered almost entirely in Berlin and in the area east of the Elbe River. The Social Democratic government of Bavaria was forced out by the Free Corps. In Central Germany there were many disturbances, but no clear cut majority appeared for either side. In the rest of Germany, the population declared themselves in favor of the republic. 1

1. Rosenberg, History of the German Republic, 135 ff.

Their objective of a military coup against the Weimar state was revealed by the march of the German corps from Riga to Berlin to participate in the Kapp Putsch of 1920.[1]

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1. (Darstellungen aus den Nachkriegskämpfen deutscher Truppen und Freikorps, Die Kampfe um Baltikum nach der zweiten Einnahme von Riga, 1938, III, 193-41.

Their objective of a military coup against the Weimar state was revealed by the march of the German corps from Re

The effort to overthrow the Weimar state in the Kapp Putsch was based on the military power of the Ehrhardt Marine Brigade and other Free Corps. The Ehrhardt Brigade marched into Berlin on 13 March 1920 where it was greeted by Lundendorff and numerous Reichswehr generals, as von Lettow-Vorbeck, von Bermuth, von Groddeck, von Lonberg, von der Hardt and Admiral von Levetzow. The genius of the Kapp Putsch was not Kapp, but Ehrhardt who was regarded in conservative-nationalist circles as the potential "saviour" of Germany. His objective was the overthrow of the republic and the establishment of a military dictatorship which would recover Germany's lost prestige and prepare the way for the restoration of the monarchy. The Brigade, composed largely of former naval officers, represented the aristocracy and ultra-conservative social groups. The helmets of the troops bore the swastika emblem. It had been under government orders in the winter quarters at Doberitz after the return from the Baltic, but the march on Berlin under the Imperial flag marked the beginning of its long career as an illegal military body. Many smaller Free Corps flocked to the Ehrhardt standard and local insurrections took place in several parts of Germany. The putsch, however, was centered almost entirely in Berlin and in the area east of the Elbe River. The Social Democratic government of Bavaria was forced out by the Free Corps. In Central Germany there were many disturbances, but no clear cut majority appeared for either side. In the rest of Germany, the population declared themselves in favor of the republic. 1

1. Rosenberg, History of the German Republic, 135 ff.

The Kapp Putsch was not suppressed by the military forces of the republic, nor were the perpetrators ever punished for their treasonable activity. The putsch was dissolved by a general strike called by the trade unions, a fact which deepened the hostility between the Free Corps and German labor. At the same time that the Free corps were fighting in the Baltic states and attempting a putsch in Berlin, another undeclared war was being fought in Silesia. The Versailles Treaty stipulated that the German troops evacuate Silesia and that the area be placed under international control until a plebiscite should decide its ultimate disposition. The Poles, under the former Reichstag deputy Korfanty, revolted against the Germans and in the local elections in November 1919 won a clear majority. The Free Corps immediately began to gather and were united into a Kampforganisation des deutschen Schutzbündes operating under the orders of the old Sixth Army Corps at Breslau. The headquarters staff in Breslau consisted of Reichswehr officers on indefinite leave. The field headquarters of the German volunteer forces was at Kattowitz. A sum of twenty million marks is reputed to have been granted by the German government while the remainder of the cost was borne by the mines, heavy industries, and big estates whose interests would be affected by the transfer of Upper Silesia to Poland. The members of the Free Corps were divided into groups under the command of an officer. They lived on the big estates as agricultural workers and experts, and the commanding officers was usually the "manager" of the estate, as for example the Nazis leaders, Martin Bormann, who was an estate manager while serving as chief

of staff of the Rossbach Brigade. The brunt of the fighting in Upper Silesia was borne by the Ehrhardt Marine Brigade, Rossbach Brigade, Oberland Bund, Orgesch, Freikorps Löwenfeld, Pfeffer, Eberhard, and the Organization Heinz. Many railway workers enrolled as members of the corps, played a vital role in the transportation of men and supplies by commandeering entire trains. Various devices were used to smuggle arms in defiance of the Allied Control Commission, as the sending in of thousands of rifles without butts labelled as "scrap iron". The butts were manufactured in the woodworking department of the Friedenshütte foundary and the guns assembled in secret arsenals. The big firms of Berg und Hüttemann, Laurahütte and others contributed money and gave positions to the Free Corps leaders to disguise their operations. The Einwohnerwehr in the towns along the demarcation line drilled openly, and refused to give up their arms, while the Sicherheitspolezei distributed guns to the civilian population in open defiance of the law and international controls. The Free Corps established an espionage service operating as a purchasing agency for the Wera Kompagnie für Chemische-technische Produkte, located in the hotel which served as the chief rendezvous for the officers of the International Commission. The most daring members of the Corps were chosen as "special police" of the Kampforganisation. They were trained in a special school in Kattowitz by a former police inspector in the art of "fighting in the dark", studying such subjects as the method of proving details on false passports, shadowing suspects, use of explosives, and lockpicking. 1

1. {A full account of these techniques may be found in Glombowski, Frontiers of Terror, pp. 56-7, 65}

The international control forces arrived in 1920, but despite their presence the Germans and Poles fought each other in small armed bands and propagandized by force for the coming plebiscite. After the Germans won an outstanding victory in the plebiscite, the Poles again revolted and the Free Corps opened a general offensive which resulted in the capture of Annaberg. The German troops finally withdrew in 1920 but only after the French threatened to occupy the Ruhr unless they laid down their arms.

B. The Persistence of Illegal Activity

1. The Secret and Camouflaged Societies.

By 1920, the actions of the Free Corps had developed to such proportions that action was taken against them by the German government and the Allied states to suppress the threatened military counter-revolution. In that year, the Allies ordered the dissolution of all Free Corps and Home Defence Leagues (Einwohverwehr) and the turning in of all arms [Daniels, Rise of the German Republic, pp. 157-158] International controls were established in Germany and police offcials were authorized to collect the forbidden arms and turn them over to the Allied authorities. The Allied controls were implemented within Germany by the Law for the protection of the Republic (1920) which forbade the possessions of arms or the formation of military leagues. The need for the co-existence of the Free Corps as transitional defence force had passed with the formation of the Reichswehr and regular police forces, but the opposition of the nationalistic activists to the Weimar state was so strong that they continued to seek their objectives by illegal means. The response to

the order for dissolution of the Corps was one of flagrant violation.

One attempt by the Free Corps leaders to disguise their actions by legal forms did not succeed. In 1922, various Free Corps leaders attempted to establish a political party based on the theory of racial nationalism, seeking the destruction of the peace settlement and the revival of German power. Their efforts succeeded in the formation of the German Racial Liberty Party (Deutschvolkischen Freiheitsparten) in 1922 made up of splintergroups of the extreme rightist parties and the Free Corps. Three Reichstag deputies led by von Graefe joined the party and some voting strength was acquired in the elections. The Racial Liberty Party sponsored the formation of military leagues, camouflaged as sports associations under the leadership of the notorious Rossbach. These leagues were offered by von Graefe to the government in 1923 with the suggestion that under the command of Ludendorff they could be used to suppress the Social Democrats and Communists as a prelude to war against the French in the Ruhr. This plan was opposed by the Reichswehr, and Rossbach was arrested and kept in prison until the end of the year, while Ludendorff wandered back to Munich to help Hitler in the Beer Cellar Putsch. By 1924, the Racial Liberty Party had lost its strength as the majority of the members either went back to the rightist parties or joined the Nazis.

The most effective form of organized activity was not in legal political parties but in secret and camouflaged groups. The entire list of secret societies is too numerous to mention: the following are some of the important examples of

illegal or camouflaged societies which existed in Germany to carry on the fight against the Weimar state and the peace structure

a. Organization Consul (OC). The OC was formed by the officers of the Ehrhardt Brigade and the Garde Kavalerie Schützen Division after the failure of the Kapp Putsch. Following his defeat at the hands of the trade unions, Ehrhardt fled to Hungary through the friendly help of the Munich police where he lived under the protection of Gömbös, who later did the Nazis great service as Prime Minister of Hungary. Ehrhardt returned to Munich with a false passport issued to Consul von Eschwege, hence the name OC. He lived with Princess Hohenlohe and his organization is alleged to have been financed by the remnants of the old Pan-German League.

The OC was in no sense a mass organization and contd contained few bourgeois elements, except those specifically employed to carry out acts of violence. According to its statutes, the aristocratic officer personnel combatted the "anti-national Weimar constitution", and their aims were stated as: the prevention of the complete revolutionizing of Germany; the creation of a strong national government to prevent internal disorder; the negation of the Versailles decision to disarm Germany. The OC was strictly authoritarian, and the entire organization was based on unquestioning obedience. Provisions were made for punishment of those who betrayed the secrets, and since the OC operated outside the pale of law, it utilized the apparatus of the Feme murder to enforce its decisions.

The basic method employed by the OC was murder. In 1921, two members of the organization, Heinrich Schulz and Heinrich Tillessen, assassinated the Centrist deputy Erzberger who had signed the armistice and was held responsible for the "stab in the back." The details of the murder were planned by Manfred von Killinger. The murderers fled to Munich and police officials helped them to proceed to Hungary where, like Ehrhardt, they lived at the country estate of Gömbös. The Hungarian government refused to permit the extradicting of the murderers. In the following year, two members of the OC, Kern and Fischer, killed the Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau. The murderers were killed by the police and Ehrhardt was arrested. The details of the murder were planned by Techow, who was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. After a short time he escaped and joined the French Foreign Legion, reappearing in 1940 as a French officer in Marseilles selling false passports to German refugees. Killinger was sentenced to eight months in jail. After serving his sentence, he was given the position of manager of the Junkers airplane plant in Echevarra, Spain which manufactured illegal military aircraft for the German army. In 1929, Killinger was elected as a deputy of the Nazi Party to the Saxon Landtag, and after 1933 he rose quickly in the party hierarchy, becoming Minister President of Saxony, Consul-General in Los Angeles, and at present, Minister to Rumania. Ehrhardt was arrested under the name of Eschwege, but was freed when his comrades broke into the jail and killed his guards. In the farcial trial of the OC in 1924, Ehrhardt was pardoned by the

government amnesty and his full pension rights were restored. It is rumored that he disappeared in the Nazi purge of 1934.

The OC was essentially a coordinating agency directing the activities of organizations which enjoyed the benefits of legality. It operated through various camouflaged groups which carried on propaganda and military training to attain the ultimate objective of German rearmament. The chief front organizations for the OC were the Vikingbund and the Neudeutsche Bund which openly engaged in pre-military training. The OC also operated through functional organizations as the Bayrische Holzwertungsgesellschaft.

b. Oberland Bund and Werwolf. Another subversive organization which carried on the ideal of the Free Corps after their dissolution was the Oberland Bund, a product of Bavarian separatism and opposition to rule exercised from Berlin. 1 The group came into existence at the time of the Bavarian Soviet Republic when soldiers from the Alpine Corps of the Imperial Army formed a Free Corps at Eichstätt. As the corps increased in size, it changed its name to the Freikorps Oberland and after 1920 to the Oberland Bund. The eidelweiss symbol of the Bund was a familiar sight in German illegal fighting. The group fought in Munich and in Upper Silesia where a number of men were lost in the storming of Annaberg. After 1920 the Bund engaged in ~~political activity and propaganda in Munich.xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxx.~~ Under the leadership of Dr. Weber, the Bund attempted to concentrate on education and propaganda as preparation for a long term plan of rearmament and racial nationalism, but in 1923 the urge to fight in the Ruhr was

(Insert on next pg. 23a)

1. Posse, Politische Kampfbünde, p. 45 ff.

Its periodical Das dritte Reich advocated the "liberation" of Germany from the peace treaties and the inclusion of all Germans into a "Third Reich", with a government based on the leadership principle strong enough to dominate all economic groups (i.e. trade unions) in the country. When propaganda failed to achieve the desired ends, the Bund engaged in illegal fighting and its storm troopers roamed the streets of Munich.

too strong to withstand. Driven from the Ruhr by the French, the Bund joined Hitler in the Munich putsch. The organization was outlawed by the national government and the state governments in Bavaria, Prussia and Saxony. However, the Bund continued as a secret organization, concentrating its personnel and ideology in the Werwolf, a nationalistic organization founded in Halle on the day that the French entered the Ruhr.

The Werwolf, Mitteldeutscher Schutzverband shortly after its founding by Hauptman Fritz Kloppe changed its name to Werwolf. Bund deutscher Männer und Frontkrieger. It was intended originally as a youth organization, but soon developed into a military league to create a trained reserve for the Reichswehr. The ideology of Werwolf followed the line of the Oberland Bund in opposing "plutocratic, international, and Jewish capitalism", but unlike the Bund and the Nazis they advocated a union with Soviet Russia to achieve this end. The Werwolf is one of the outstanding examples of National Bolshevism in Germany which hoped to unite the militarist and revolutionary elements against the Weimar state and the Western European powers. A youth organization called Jungwolf provided pre-military training for approximately 30,000 members. In 1929, Werwolf decided to enter politics and was absorbed into several of the extremist right parties.

c. Orgesch. Another example of military league which attempted to perpetuate the spirit of the Free Corps was the Orgesch in Bavaria. The Organisation Escherich (Orgesch) was founded by Georg Escherich after Bavaria declined to obey

the Reich order to dissolve the home defence corps (Einwohnerwehr) in 1920. It was an attempt to organize the petty bourgeoisie by stressing that Germany was controlled by the "Berlin Bolshevists" and the Bavarian "mission" was to purge Germany of all revolutionary elements. The same idea provided the starting point for Hitler's "march on Berlin" which started and ended in Munich in 1923. Dr. Escherich wanted to extend the Orgesch from Bavaria to the entire Reich in order to overthrow the Berlin Government and institute Bavarian rule in Germany. Orgesch was a fi fighting organization based on military lines and formations. It possessed a considerable arsenal taken from German army stores which the Bavarian government in 1921 estimated to contain 240,000 rifles, 2780 machine guns, 44 field pieces and 34 minethrowers. 1 The members fought in Munich in 1919-20 and formed a major part of the German forces in Upper Silesia. After 1921, Orgesch was active in Bavarian politics until its members were gradually absorbed into the Nazi Party.

d-Other Groups. In addition to these organizations, the Free Corps ideal of rearmament, overthrow of the Weimar government, and the rehabilitation of German national honor was carried on by countless other organizations. Among these can be listed the following:

1. {Daniels, Rise of the German Republic} p. 157-8{.

Blücherbund, a group which broke away from the Oberland Bund over the question of tactics. It was founded by the Heidelberg University teacher Arnold Rugge, who was successful in organizing students to take more violent action against the "Marxist North" of Germany than advocated by the parent organization. It was active in the Ruhr in 1923.

Grossdeutsche Jungendbund founded in Berlin after the war to revive the old Prussian ideas of authority and discipline and to preach the new doctrine of racial nationalism.

Stahlhelm, the organization of veterans, established youth organizations which became the haven of ex-Free Corps members. The most important was Jungstahlhelm with 60,000 members. The Sharnhorst Bund and Königin Luise provided anti-Republican indoctrination and training in the traditional military virtues for young boys and girls. The other reactionary veterans organization Kyffhäuser Bund provided pre-military training for youths in the Kyffhäuser Jugend.

Bismarck Bund with 30,000 members was the youth organization of the Deutschnationale Volkspartei, the most outspoken of the anti-republican parties with the exception of the Nazis. The Bismarck Bund with its system of military training and development of putschist attitudes was one of the most active successors of the Free Corps.

Jugendbund Schlageter and Deutschvölkisher Jugendbund Graf Yorck von Wartenburg were, as their names imply, organizations created by the Free Corps of the same name to provide illegal military training for the Reichswehr reserve. Their ideological training stressed the military and mythological past and held that German honor could be avenged only by violent action.1

1. Another type of society which attempted to achieve German rearmament was the Jungdeutscher Orden founded shortly after the war by Oberleutnant Artur Mahraum in Kassel was designed to perpetuate the ideals of comradeship among front soldiers. It was a romanticized youth organization based on military lines. The Jungdos fought as a Free Corps in the Ruhr in 1923. Like many other similar organizations, the Jundos entered politics in 1930, and professing democratic aims, was absorbed into the Staatspartei. The Jungdo membership numbered around 50,000. A subsidiary organization for girls was provided in the Ordensgemeinschaft Jungdeutscher Schwesternschaften.

2. The Free Corps in the Ruhr.

The last open outburst activity by the secret groups and illegal Free corps was the war against the French in the Ruhr in 1923. When French troops occupied this area, calls went out from the leaders of the former corps to their trusted men to assemble secretly and prepare for war. One of the leading spirits of the Ruhr struggle was Leo Schlageter, claimed by the Nazis as one of their early martyrs and extolled by the Communists in 1923 as a hero of German nationalism. His corps, along with many othrs, flocked to the Rurh to engage in sabotage of transportation facilities. Their chief work, however, was in preventing the establishment of the Rhenish Republic established by the Rhineland separatist movement. An espionage service, called the Lorenzer group, was set up by Schlageter to spy on the separatists and on any German who gave help or information to the French. The group not only discovered pro-French elements in the German population, but also judged and executed some of them as traitors. Many members of the government of the Rhenish Republic were shot by the Free Corps.

The Free Corps operated as secret groups in the Ruhr in the face of the opposition of the Berlin government and the Reichswehr, as well as the French military forces. The efficient French controls made impossible any widespread action and after Schlageter was shot and numerous others sent to the French penal colonies, the Free Corps opposition subsided.

3. The Black Reichswehr. While the Free Corps and illegal groups were spontaneous organizations without any central directing agency, the army attempted to create an integrated and controlled military reserve. The most significant group sponsored and directed by it was the Black Reichswehr (Schwarze Reichswehr) reunited from among the Free Corps fighters returning from Upper Silesia in 1920.

The Black Reichswehr was formed by the army apparently with the knowledge of the civil government. It was armed and clothed from government stores, and led by Reichswehr officers who had formerly been prominent in Free Corps activity, as Kottbus, Buchrucker (Freikorps Eulenberg) and Paul Schulz. The Reichswehr insisted that the Free Corps men join as individuals and not as groups. This order aroused the opposition of such activist groups as the Rossbach Brigade and the Oberland Bund which did not wish to lose their identity or subordinate their ideology to the political views of the army. The basis for the Reichswehr's opposition to the group enlistment of the Free Corps was their distrust of the radical theories of race and nationalism which they feared would produce a political army. Likewise, the Free Corps' conception of group solidarity and leadership conflicted with the army's insistence on discipline and integration. In spite of the Reichswehrs efforts, the Black Reichswehr turned out to be a heterogeneous group representing many conflicting political viewpoints and interests.

The Black Reichswehr was commanded by the chief of staff of the III Reichswehr division (Wehrkreiskommando III), Oberstleutnant Fedor von Bock (later Field Marshal). The tactical command of the 18,000 secret members in this district was in the hands of Major von Buchrucker. A Kommando zur besonderen Werwendung was located in Berlin under the command of Klapproth, Rüschung, and Fahlbusch, all of whom were members of the OC. The same structural basis of the army was maintained in the Black Reichswehr. Each group was assigned a district under the command of a "Führer" and was charged with

"carrying out all measures necessary for the maintenance of the state and army." Thus, a parallel organization to the Reichswehr was built in each Wehrkresikommando, and in several districts the secret army outnumbered the army permitted in the peace treaty. The liaison officer between the Reichswehr and the illegal army was Captain Eugen Ott, who is at present the Nazi ambassador in Japan.

The leader in Wehrkresikommando III, Major Buchrucker, had ideas of his own about the use of the troops during the Ruhr struggle which conflicted with the policy of the state and army. On 15 September 1923, Buchrucker ordered the mobilization of the Black Reichswehr, Free Corps and military leagues in his district to lay siege to Berlin. He attempted to get the Reichswehr commander in the Küstrin garrison to join the movement, but the plan miscarried and many members of the Black Reichswehr were killed in the so-called Küstrin putsch. Buchruder was arrested and sentenced to ten years in prison and the Black Reichswehr was broken up. The army feared its political orientation and objectives, while the many Feme murders which accompanied its activity threatened the disclosure of its sources of arms and secret connections.

4. The Feme Murders. After the Küstrin putsch the government was forced to investigate the entire existence of secret military organizations in the Reich because of the military action at Küstrin and the many Feme murders which accompanied the activities of the Black Reichswehr and illegal groups. The mechanism of the Feme murder was named after the VEHMGERICHT trials of the Middle Ages --- a secret court operating in the name of the Emperor without regard for the law and judicial procedures of the localities in which they existed.

The Feme murder was the obvious means by which illegal groups maintained their secrecy and protected their organizations against provocative agents. The secret and illegal groups murdered any member who withdrew and aroused suspicions that he might betray

sources of arms and finance or the membership to the government authorities. One article of the statutes of the OC, for example, stated, "VERRÄTER VERFALLEN der FEME".

The device was particularly useful to the Black Reichswehr since any revelation of the arms supply or connection with the army would seriously compromise not only the movement itself but the German government as well. The Feme murders aroused great admiration in German nationalist circles. After 1923, the government made various efforts to bring the Feme murders to an end, but they continued on a diminished scale throughout the Weimar period.

C. The Lack of Controls

The Free Corps were able to act so vigorously for awhile because of the nature of the controls in the peace settlement and the attitude of the German government. Effective controls were not established by the Allied states until 1920, giving the Free Corps the opportunity to recruit members, collect arms, and consolidate their group organizations. The control system which utilized German army and administrative personnel to discover and confiscate arms permitted large caches of arms to remain in the hands of the illegal groups. This practice permitted the basic problem of arms control to remain in the hands of those who sympathized with the Free Corps objective of German rearmament. In the face of popular demonstrations against Allied control officers whenever they made their appearance, the search for arms was left almost entirely to German personnel.

In addition to the time lag between defeat and arms control, the International Commission in Germany proved to be lax in its disarmament efforts. The Allies did not oppose the arming of German volunteer units in the Baltic war, while in upper Silesia the Free Corps openly collected arms and fought the Poles. The only effective control of Free Corps activity was exercised by the French

in the Ruhr (1923) where illegal action immediately threatened the military security of the occupation forces.

Due to the attitudes of the army and judiciary, the German government was not able to exercise its legal powers to control illegal activity. The courts, made up of judges held over from the Imperial regime refused to punish the officers who engaged in the Kapp Putsch of 1920 except for the imposition of light sentences in a few cases. The courts likewise refused to deprive those convicted of political murder or treasonable activity of their pension rights. The punishment of the Feme murderers of the Black Reichswehr was made practically impossible by a judicial decision which prevented any disclosure of the source of arms or the nature of the organization of the secret group on the grounds that such evidence would be dangerous to national security. The differences between the courts and the political leadership of the state on this question were often the subject of debate in the Reichstag and in the Prussian Diet, but the arguments of the Reichswehr and courts prevailed. The Feme murderers went unpunished. The only element in the state able to control the illegal groups was the Reichswehr. Whenever the activities of the groups conflicted with the political policy of the army, as in the case of the Black Reichswehr and the Ruhr fight in 1923, the generals did not hesitate to use superior force. This means of control proved to be effective.

The Free Corps and military leagues had a fair measure of popular support in Germany, particularly among the industrialists and the agrarian interests. The personnel of the corps was predominately rural, and financial support was provided by groups of landlords and industrialists. There are many authentical examples of payments made by landlord and industrialist associations to the Free Corps-- the same interests which later paid large sums into the treasury of the Nazi Party to fight the Weimar Republic. The Nazis picked up the

fight against the Republic and the peace settlement where the Free corps and illegal groups left off in 1923, and by reason of superior organization and integration were able to achieve the objective which the Nachkriegs kämpfern sought after the defeat of the Imperial Army.

III. THE FREE CORPS SURVIVAL IN GERMANY

A. The Free Corps and the Army

The Free Corps and military leagues have persisted in Germany in various ways. After the dissolution of the corps, one form of survival was in the Reichswehr. When the treaty army was formed, many of the Free Corps served as cadres for Reichswehr regiments. These corps, serving as transitional defense forces in the administrative areas of the Imperial army, changed their names and became units of the new army stationed in the areas in which they had formerly served as volunteers.[1]

(1-Some examples are:
Landesjägerkorps Maercker - Reichswehr Brigade 16
Freikorps Dohna- Reichswehr Grenadier Regiment 53.
Freikorps Düsseldorff- Reichswehr Schützen Regiment 61
Freikorps Faupel- Reichswehr Grenadier Regiment 10
Freikorps Hasse- Reichswehr Infantrie Regiment 108.
A full list of the Free Corps which became units in the Reichswehr is given in Schmidt-Pauli, Geschichte der Freikorps, p. 354 ff.)

The army, however, exercised a careful political scrutiny over prospective members and refused to admit any who were identified with the Rossbach Brigade, Freikorps Aulock, Selbstschutz Kompagnie Schlageter. Likewise, they disapproved of the putschist tactics of the Free Corps and numerous officers, as Captain Röhm and General von Epp were forced to resign their commissions. The Reichswehr accepted only those men they could control and stamp with their own political viewpoint. The activists were left to their own devices.

B. The Free Corps and the Nazi Party

After the events of 1923, economic conditions in Germany were gradually stabilized and adjustments were made in both German and Allied foreign policy which tended to remove the most objectional controls stipulated in the peace treaty. With the end of inflation,

the return of employment, and the gradual acceptance of Germany in the European state system, the basic reasons for the existence of the Free Corps and secret military leagues disappeared and the average members were absorbed into peaceful civilian life. This situation, however, did not affect the activists- the "irregulars" who could not adapt themselves to the prevailing social structure. They continued their activities, such as Feme murders and secret military training, but gradually found a haven in the Nazi Party with its doctrines of Greater Germany and anti-Semitism, and its methods of violence and street-fighting.

In the years 1924 to 1927, a number of Free Corps fighters entered the Nazi Party and rose to positions of prominence. How many rank and file members entered the SA and SS cannot be ascertained. The outstanding example of a Free Corps fighter who became a prominent Nazi is Martin Bormann, ex-chief of staff of the Rossbach Brigade. After serving a term in prison for political murder, Bormann entered the NSDAP in 1925 and is now Chief of the Party Chancellory. A list of other Free Corps men who became prominent Nazis is given in the appendix.

Free Corps personnel also remained in the state administration and formed subversive cells which helped to prepare the way for the Nazi acquisition of power. An example, which can be paralleled in many parts of the German administration, may be taken in the case of the Hamburg police force. After the revolution of 1918, most of the members of the Hamburg police force were either republican in their sympathies or uninterested in politics. But a few ex-members of the Freikorps Schleswig-Holstein gained admission to the force and formed an illegal cell under the leadership of Fritz Kranneberg.[1] The cell, starting with eighteen

~~[illegible]~~.

1. CID 62453-C; Schmidt-Pauli, p. 362.

members, was forced to adopt many camouflages to evade detection, but Kranneberg was so successful in hiding his real intentions that he was soon appointed chief of the section responsible for the delivery of illegal arms to the Allied Control Commission. It was later admitted in Nazi literature that this position presented "unlimited possibilities" in securing arms for the subversive groups. In 1922, the cell, which had now grown to one hundred members, was secretly affiliated with the Nazi Party and took an oath to support Hitler rather than the republic of Germany. Camouflaged as a sports association, the group held regular military exercises on the outskirts of the city. In 1923, Kranneberg decided to support the Black Reichswehr in the Küstrin putsch, but the group was betrayed and several members were arrested. They were later freed by the courts and reinstated on the police force without loss of seniority. In the same year, Hitler ordered the group to support the Munich putsch by seizing the police barracks and arms. The plan miscarried and the leader of the group assigned to the task, Rackebrandt, was arrested. Kranneberg was forced to resign, but from a position in the security department of the shipbuilding firm of Blohm and Voss he was able to continue his subversive action among the Hamburg police. Contact was established with similar cells in the police forces of Berlin, Munich, Göttingen, Lüneberg, Hannover, Schwerin, Greifswald, Stettin and Neu Strelitz. By 1930, the Hamburg cell was so strong that it changed from secret to overt propaganda for the overthrow of the Weimar Republic and the establishment of National Socialism.

Other examples of subversive action can be found in the extensive publicity which the Nazis have given since 1933 to the actions of the Free Corps. Nazi publications on the Free Corps discuss at length the technique of illegal organization and the various ways to wage an undeclared war. The Nazi

publications, such as Schmidt-Pauli, Geschichte der Freikorps; von Oertzen, Die deutschen Freikorps; Kurt Hotzel, Deutscher Aufstand and the Darstellungen aus den Nachkriegskämpfer/deutscher Truppen und Freikorps, contain thorough descriptions about the methods of forming secret military leagues, strategy, supply and transportation, and illegal operations against popular authority. The publicity which these examples of subversive actions have received may help to produce a new group of activists to oppose foreign controls and military occupation.

~~IV.~~ THE POSSIBLE USE OF ILLEGAL ACTIVITY

A. Factors Affecting Illegal Activity

Obviously, the pattern of subversive action established after the last war will not be reproduced after this one. Nevertheless, the motivation of nationalist revenge is strong in Germany and the weapons of subversive action are few. In terms of defeat and occupation, a situation comparable to 1918 will exist in Germany, while the effects of Nazi training for the past ten years has undoubtedly created a group of activists who will respond in a manner comparable to the officers who joined the Free Corps.

The differences between the social situation of 1919-23 and the one which follows the present war will be the important factors in determining the nature of future illegal activity. In 1919, the Allies relied on pressure on the German government to carry out the major provisions of the treaty and to prevent the accummulation of illegal arms. The presence of control may be one of the major differences between the social and political organization of 1919 and the one which follows the present war. The plans of military occupation may envisage a type of control totally unlike the Allied measures after the last war. The presence of civil affairs officers in local areas will provide a means of control which can detect the existence of illegal

activity and supply the preventative measures which the German government lacked in 1919. But, the presence of these officers as visible symbols of German defeat may provoke a continuation of the war by illegal means.

The second difference between the Germany of 1919 and the present is the existence of the Nazi Party as the directing force for illegal activity. The formation of the Free Corps was largely a spontaneous action of individuals who reacted emotionally to defeat and the destruction of their social status. A force integrating their activities was lacking until the Nazi Party succeeded in attracting the support of the Free Corps men. It is conceivable that at the close of the present war, the Nazi Party will control and direct the potential illegal opposition. Although the party and its formations will be legally and formally dissolved, it will be impossible for the occupation authorities to establish surveillance and control over all activists who are members of the NSDAP, or any other nationalistic German who may decide to fight the Allied forces by illegal means.

Another difference between 1919 and the present, will obviously lie in the general configuration of social and political forces. The political leadership of the German government of 1919, as opposed to the administrative services, was in the hands of social groups widely differentiated from the officers of the army and Free Corps. Sharp social antagonisms also existed betweeen the political leadership and the rural population of landlords and Junkers. While the social antagonisms which helped to destroy the Weimar republic will not be reproduced after the present war, it is likely that the actions of potential illegal fighters may be directed against German social groups associated with the defeat, as well as against the occupation forces of the victorious states. The objectives of the illegal opposition will depend ultimately on the

nature of the defeat and the conditions which exist in Germany after the close of hostilities. If defeat is accomplished without the apparent collapse of the civilian front, the political underground may be directed solely against the occupation forces. If, on the other hand, defeat is accompanied by a breakdown on the home front, as a revolution or the formation of a government which surrenders to the Allies, the opposition will probably be directed not only against the occupation authorities but against those Germans who are held responsible for the "stab in the back."

The underground will not be a mass movement in any sense of the term as the great bulk of the German people will accept defeat and will work for the restoration of the normal activities of peaceful life. The underground will consist of the activists, either Nazi or non-Nazi, who cannot accept the defeat and foreign control which destroys the ideal for which nationalistic groups have fought for years. The trend in German history since 1918 has created habits of political thought and action associated with the violent seizure and maintenance of power, not only in domestic politics, but especially in the field of world affairs. The advocates of the Pan-German view will continue to fight for their objectives as they have in the past, using the traditional methods of violence and subversion, but adapting them to the specific conditions which will exist at the close of the war. This group will comprise the elite of the Nazi Party and the German nationalists and not the average people who may or may not have supported the regime in the last decade.

This nationalistic motivation, which will no doubt find a wide response, will draw on historic events and traditions, strengthened by the Nazi conceptions of the Thousand Year Reich. There has been no complete military occupation of Germany for nearly a century and a half, as the occupation of 1918 affected only the Rhineland and was not extended to the interior. Yet the Allied

occupation of the Rhineland and the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 evoked a violent reaction in nationalistic circles and resulted in the creation of an apparatus of illegal opposition. The complete occupation of Germany and the regulation of political and social life will provide battlefields which have not existed since the Germans have accummulated the traditions of chauvinistic nationalism. The officers and soldiers can find inspiration in the well developed nationalistic mythology. In addition, the dissolution of the Nazi regime will mean to many Germans that the legal government of their choice has been destroyed by force and replaced by foreign rule. They would consider the elimination of foreign control and the restoration of Nazism as two aspects of the same objective.

The fear of partition, changes in boundaries, or the growth of separatist movements in various parts of the country may be an important factor inciting illegal activity. If the Zonal system of occupation and military government is created, the opposition may be integrated around the fear of partition, a fear which will probably be exploited by the Nazi propagandists prior to defeat. If a central military government is established, the potential underground may be directed against separatist movements in frontier areas or those areas historically opposed to Prussian rule, as Bavaria, Rhineland, and Austria. Territorial changes in the boundaries of the Altreich will awaken the same violent opposition that similar changes brought after the last war.

The operation of nationalism against either the occupation forces or groups within Germany will depend on the conditions of defeat. If the overthrow of the Nazi regime is aided by anti-Nazi activity on the home front, there are indications that the Dolchstoss-Legende will be revived. This political myth of the stab in the back was invented after the last war to exonerate the army and create civilian scapegoats to bear the blame for defeat.

The application of this legend admitted of wide variations, for it could be applied to specific groups, as Jews or Social Democrats, or to all supporters of the Weimar Republic. It provided an important motivation for militarist and nationalist politics throughout the republican period, particularly by the Free Corps and the Nazis in their fight against the "reds" whom they held responsible for Germany's defeat.

The nature of the illegal opposition will depend ultimately on the conditions which exist in Germany during the period of military occupation. One of the chief problems which will face the civil affairs officers will be demobilization and the dissolution of the institutions of German militarism and fascism, and the institution of new controls to replace those formerly exercised by the army and Party. Although a system of controls may be devised for the leaders and prominent officials of the Nazi Party and its affiliated organizations, it cannot be expected that all members of all formations can be adequately supervised to discover the presence of activists before they engage in violent action. Control cannot be exercised over the actions of militant Nazis and nationalists in the period immediately preceding occupation in changing residence and identity or going into hiding either to evade punishment or prepare for illegal activity. British authorities estimate that many Nazis will flee to different parts of the Reich, either hiding or emerging with a new identity. When the formations are dissolved, thousands of people will be deprived of their group controls and direction, and their integration into a non-Nazi society will constitute a problem of long term action extending far beyond the period of military occupation. The presence of these people in German society during the period of military occupation, without status or employment and deprived of their authoritarian controls, will be an open invitation for the formation of illegal movements unless their activities can be turned to other channels or controlled by a competent supervisory force.

B. The Role of the Nazi Party

Potential sources for an underground are contained in the countless military, paramilitary and administrative groups of the Nazi Party. Thousands of Germans have belonged to the party formations since 1933, trained in Nazi ideology and dependent on group controls for direction and employment. The dissolution of these groups will remove the controls, but not the effects of a decade of ideological

indoctrination and the exercise of power in German society. The number of militant Nazis in these formations who may engage in illegal activity cannot be ascertained. There are, however, many groups which may furnish personnel ready to engage in illegal action because of the desire for revenge and fear for their own future.

A mere listing of the important groups in the Nazi Party which could serve as a source for personnel, shows the extent of the problem which faces the civil affairs officials. The greatest source for the leadership of illegal groups may be the elite in the SS. While many changes have taken place in the SS due to war casualties, there remains a core of members who profess the ideals of "the community of knightly order", as the SS has been described by Himmler.[1] The SS is the most important instrument of coercion and control in Germany and its members have penetrated into the army, bureaucracy, police and industry. The racial, physical and ideological requirements of membership make the SS the elite of all the party formations and the most active and fanatical of the Nazis. The formation of Waffen-SS units in the occupied and vassal states may create international contacts which will aid the opposition against the Allies. The recent drafting of Germans and Volksdeutsche for service in the Waffen SS has diluted the group as an elite formation, but it will not affect the attitudes of the activist members who survive the war or those who have remained as security forces in the Reich. As an elite, the SS has provided guards for concentration camps and they are well trained in the methods of terror. They compose the party intelligence and security service, and thus know the principles of espionage and coercion. The SS leadership has intimate contacts with industry and the landed aristocracy,

1. For the various organizations and formations of the NSDAP see, Civil Affairs Handbook, Germany, Section 2 A, Supplement: The National Socialist Party; also Alfred Vagts, Hitler's Second Army, Washington, Infantry Journal, 1943.

thus making the problem of control one that reaches into all strata of German society and forms of activity.

The leaders of the SS, chosen for their fanatical adherence to the Nazi cause, are given rigorous training before admission to the elite. The best graduates of the Napoli (National Political Institutes) receive SS commissions, while the most outstanding are admitted to the Ordensburgen schools. The training in these schools is supplied by the high ranking party officials along ideological lines drawn up by Rosenburg, who is firmly convinced of the German mission in the world and thinks in terms of thousands of years. The students are taught that if the Third Reich is defeated by superior forces, it will not be replaced by a Fourth Reich, but by an "Eternal Germany" which is National Socialist and racially pure. They are taught to give their lives for their ideal, and in case of temporary defeat, to continue the fight until "Eternal Germany" is achieved.[1]

The SS man trained in this outlook and accustomed to a dominant position is the ideal type to carry out illegal activity against the occupation forces. Prisoner interrogations have revealed that the Napoli graduates who have become officers are political fanatics who impulsively undertake operations on their own initiative to gain distinction and decorations.[2] Compared to the officers and cadets who joined the Free Corps and secret military leagues after the last war, the SS man is a professional subversive agent, highly trained in the methods of espionage, sabotage and murder, with a sense of destiny which cannot easily be destroyed, and a reckless daring method which can only be combatted by force.

If it may be assumed that the leadership of the potential underground will be in the hands of the SS activists, personnel

1. For an example of SS training as revealed in prisoner of war interrogations, see CID 67360-C, 28 March 1944.
2. CID 66665-C, 6 March 1944

for the movement can be found in many other Nazi formations. The SA, a conglomerate group of "old fighters"and others who have found it expedient to be associated with party activities, has recovered some of the prestige and power it lost in the purge of 1934. Prior to the beginning of Nazi rule, the SA was glorified as the organization of activitsts who fought for their ideals, and the late Adolf Wagner stated (1930) that the Storm Troopers would live forever since they would work illegally if the party was ever prohibited or dissolved. In 1939, the SA was given the task of extra-military and defense training, giving it the opportunity to supervise the physical and ideological training of the reservists(Wehrmannschaften). The chief function of the SA at home is to carry out police and semi-military duties, giving them at least the appearance of a dominant group responsible for law and order and the security of German society. The active and trusted members of the SA have identified their interests with those of the party and regime. The destruction of those interests would provide the material incentive for the SA to revive the methods of violence and illegality which characterize its history.

An important source for personnel for a subversive nationalistic movement may be the Hitler Youth.[1] Since April 1939 membership in the Hitler Youth has been compulsory for all German youths between the ages of 10 and 18 where they are given thorough indoctrination in the ideology of the German mission as well as pre-military training. The most promising members are sent to the leadership school at Potsdam and then by various stages to the Ordensburgen schools. The results of this training are shown in the attitudes of young German prisoners captured in Italy. Their sense of superiority to the Allied nations indicates that the well trained graduates of the Hitler youth will not necessarily agree peacefully to a foreign occupation of Germany, while their non-cooperation in the prisoner interrogations does

1. CID 62064-G 27 Feb 1944 gives a good characterization of an officer who graduated from the Hitler Youth who maintained a complete espionage service over the men in his detachment.

not fore-shadow an easy time for the civil affairs officers in detecting the existence of illegal opposition.

There are other paramilitary organizations in the NSDAP which contain activists who may continue the war by illegal means. Many members of the NSKK (National Socialist Motor Corps) and the NSFK (National Socialist Air Corps) have been trained in military tactics and the ideology of a superior Germany. Recruits may also be drawn from the vast array of state and party bureaucracy, particularly those lower levels of local administration which will not be subject to surveillance and punishment.

The Nazi Party need not be the only source of personnel for an illegal movement. Violent opposition to the occupation forces may rise from the operations of the traditions of German nationalism and militarism which may not be connected with the Nazi world view. These historic traditions of German nationalism as centered in the Wehrmacht may be as important as Nazism in bringing about an underground. Many elements in the Wehrmacht have opposed consistent attempts to bring the army under the complete administrative and ideological supervision of the Nazi Party. The army leadership has, in addition, a strong memory of the limitations placed on military activity after the last war.[1]

The officers of the army may provide an important source of opposition. The ones who survive the war will probably not constitute a "corps" in the social sense of the word, since the majority of them are drawn from many social strata and experiences and from the ranks. Many others, however, are drawn from the old Reichswehr, the German aristocracy, or those groups which subscribe to the doctrines of pan-Germanism. After nearly ten years of intense military activity and five years of constant war, the German officers will

1. A good description of the attitudes created by German military training may be found in The Psychological Foundations of the Wehrmacht, British War Office, Research Memorandum, 11/02/9A, February 1944.

face the problem of integration into a society for which they have neither vocational nor ideological training. Secondly, an important source of personnel may be the "front-fighters", particularly the members of the elite divisions and the "green devils" of the paratroopers, for whom war has become a way of life. There is no reason to believe that five years of war at the present time will not provoke reactions among the fighting groups of the Wehrmacht, comparable to those in the Free Corps fighters in 1914. The lack of a future and the absence of views concerning the reconstruction of Germany which are brought out in the prisoner of war interrogations may be supplied by the continuation of the war.

C. Preparations for a Nazi Underground

The preparations for a Nazi underground are at present the subject of much journalistic speculation. Little definite information can be derived from the intelligence reports. That preparations are being made for future subversive action may be implied from the following developments in Germany and a statement of rumors appearing in the press.

1. There has appeared in Nazi journals a discussion of the various subversive organizations and techniques throughout the world. Articles by the SS Chief Werner Best deal specifically with the Allied occupation of the Rhineland and the resistance techniques utilized by the Germans. Particular reference is paid to sabotage of military, industrial and transportation facilities.

2. According to intelligence reports, special agents are being trained in the elite party schools to assure leadership of a resistance movement.

The logical training centers are the Ordensburgen schools where elite members of the party formations are indoctrinated in the German "mission" as well as taught the principles of subversive action.

3. Due to the demands of ~~khm~~ total war, an increasing number of

civilians have been trained in the use of firearms. Since April 1944, the SA has been conducting rifle shooting contests to inspire the civilian population with "the spirit of militant self defense" and to demonstrate "their unshakeable will to fight to defend themselves." Over four million German civilians have engaged in the rifle shooting matches. This may serve to inspire a few activists to oppose the occupation forces.

4. The increase in the activities of the SA in local political leadership, as well as the training in the use of weapons of such formations as the NSKK, may indicate that the potential leaders of resistance groups will be drawn from the relatively little known people in the ranks of the Party rather than from the more prominent leaders or members of the highly suspect SS.

5. The needs of total war have compelled the Nazis to arm civilians organized into volunteer security forces in the City Guards and Rural Guards (Stadt-und Landwacht). These groups, supplanting the regular police controls in the control of foreign workers, are not exclusively identified with Party membership and are even alleged to contain anti-Nazi elements. For these reasons, these groups may not be subject to the same type of examination and control designed for the Party formations, thus providing an agency in which the Nazis would place men trained to lead subversive movements.

6. The training of special units in the army may also be taken as implying preparations for a continuation of resistance after defeat. The training of snipers in the army, for example, is stressed in the party press as the proper means of defense since it will "reawaken the natural instincts which civilized man has lost, to sharpen eye and ear by constant watchfulness".

(DNB, 4 May 1944. News Digest #1440)

The training of street fighting specialists

(German European Service 8 April 1944. News Digest #1417)

and special saboteur units in the army may be a step in the formation of a resistance organization.

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7. Persistent press reports concerning the transfer of Party funds abroad have appeared in Switzerland and Sweden. The funds are alleged to have been deposited in neutral banks in order to finance a possible revival of the Nazi Party in the future.

8. The rumored creation of a special agency - Abteilung IV Reichssicherheits hauptamt to enroll trusted party members to carry out the "NN Plan" (Nach Niederlage Plan) which calls for the formation of a Nazi underground in Germany as well as in foreign countries. This plan is alleged to call for the cooperation of the army to prepare for another war under proposals to be drawn up by General von Stülpnagel.

(NY Times 2 July 1943; Combat, (Algiers) 18 September 1943

9. Various reports indicate that the Nazis are preparing a "last ditch" stand in areas of southern Germany and Austria which are suited by reason of topography for partisan warfare. It is stated that"islands of resistance" will be created to fight to the end, and, at the same time, various individuals would be left in Germany to form a government to collaborate with the United Nations which would serve as a scapegoat for the Nazi underground.

D. Possible Forms of Nazi Resistance

1. The Possible "Neo-Nazi Movement". It may be assumed that numerous individuals in Germany are prepared and trained at the present time to engage in underground work after the war. These agents, trained in the party schools, will serve as leaders of small resistance groups formed by Nazis or non-Nazis whose will to resist has been strengthened by Party propaganda, the conditions of defeat, or an inability to be absorbed into normal occupations in German society. They would in time constitute a "Neo-Nazi"movement designed to revive German national power.

There are indications that the Nazi Party is progressively decentralizing its power, permitting local organizations a greater degree of autonomy than they have hitherto possessed. This decentralization has been made necessary by the needs of local civil

defense and security. It may imply that after defeat, a Neo-Nazi movement would consist of the smallest possible unit which is under the control of a trusted leader and sufficiently independent to operate without the need of communications with other units. The centralized Nazi organization would cease to exist in its present form and function only as a skeleton organization to prepare a plan of grand political strategy and to exercise control over the local units. The power of such an organization would be in its ability to coerce important sections of the German population to support resistance activities.

The extent of popular support of such a movement depends on occupation policy and the social conditions which exist in postwar Germany. Despite the probable cooperation of the great mass of the German population with the occupation authorities, there will remain a large reservoir of Germans who will support a Nazi resistance movement. Aside from the members of the party and its affiliated organizations, there will be many groups who are dispossessed of their property and status by the defeat, such as the Volksdeutsche refugees in Germany from Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other states, Reichsdeutsche from East Prussia and Silesia, and economic groups such as the landed aristocracy and industrialists who may lose their status. These groups may be ardent supporters of a Neo-Nazi movement which opposes the occupation of Germany by underground resistance.

2. The Possibilities of Concealment and Camouflage. At the present time, Germany offers many possibilities for the concealment or change of identity. In its espionage and counter-espionage activities, the Nazis have created regular facilities for the manufacturing of false papers for its agents. Prior to defeat, the agents who are chosen to lead resistance groups may be provided with false identification papers which would make detection extremely difficult, particularly in the large cities. Likewise, the destruction of police records by the bombing of Germany has provided many people with the opportunity of

establishing a new identity or assuming the identity of some one killed in the air war. The Nazis have admitted this problem in dealing with the present anti-Nazi underground. There is no reason to believe that they will not utilize this possibility to the fullest extent in providing a cover for their own underground agents.

In addition to changed identity, there are many possibilities of concealment for underground agents. They could be planted prior to defeat in the administrative services, particularly such less compromised agencies as welfare and charity which would give them an opportunity to coerce many Germans. Agents could also be planted in such organizations as fire brigades and rural police. Likewise, they may find a haven in the higher levels of the civil service.

There are many possibilities of group camouflage as well as the individual concealment for subversive actions. The most obvious type of group camouflage utilized in Germany in the past is the sports organization. It could easily be utilized to cover Neo-Nazi activities. Other types of group camouflage are also possible, as the innumerable Kultur vereine, academic societies, middle class occupational organizations, and veterans groups. Since the ideology of a neo-Nazi movement will probably be based on the historical precedents of German nationalism, it may be advisable to examine those groups which are dedicated to the perpetuation of nationalist traditions as a possible camouflage for a resistance movement.

3. The Availability of Arms. The Nazi underground will be able to obtain arms from the vast caches now scattered throughout Germany for the use of police and security forces. These arms are now in the possession of the SS, Gestapo, and SA. During the course of defeat, the Nazis will probably hide additional stores of arms for use by designated underground agents. The task of location and confiscation of arms will be much more complex than after the last war when, even with a cooperative German government in power, it was impossible to prevent arms from coming into the possession of the Free Corps and secret military leagues.

E. The Detection of Underground Activity

The identification of underground movements and agents will not be an easy task. It will be made difficult by the varied means of concealment and camouflage as well as the use of propaganda which may not be easily identified as Nazi or immediately recognizable as subversive. A new ideological basis may be formed for propaganda dealing with the causes of defeat and the historical basis of national power rather than the traditional concepts of Nazi ideology.

The successful identification and control of the Nazi underground will depend largely on two factors:

1. The cooperation of various German groups in identifying underground movements and personnel. At the present time, the groups which are most likely to cooperate are the Social Democrat, Communist and Centrist parties and the trade union movement, all of which are definitely anti-Nazi.

2. The policy of de-Nazification which must be determined to discover all forms of Nazi activity and personnel.

If the cooperation of anti-Nazi groups in Germany can be secured and if a thorough policy of de-Nazification is followed, the basic weaknesses of the controls which permitted illegal activity after the last war will be remedied.

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APPENDIX

Free Corps Members Prominent in the Nazi Party

The following is a list of a few of the prominent Nazis who began their political career in the Weimar Republic as members of Free Corps and the secret societies. This list is derived from references in von Oertzen, Die deutschen Freikorps, Schmidt-Pauli, Geschuhte des deutschen Freikorps, Führer-Lexikon, and from material in Biographical Records, OSS:

ALFERS, Friedrich: SS obergruppenführer, Forester-General Maercker Landes-Jügerkorps.

ARENT, Benno von: Official Nazi Artist

BORMANN, Martin: Chief of Party Chancellory; SS obergruppenführer. Rossbach Brigade

BRENDT, Alfred-Ingemar: Chief of Radio Section, Propaganda Ministry. SS oberführer.

BUCHNER, Franz: Deputy Gauleiter, Munich.

BUTTMAN, Rudolf: Reichstag. Retired ministerial Director.

DALUEGE, Kurt: Chief of Uniformed Police, Ministry of Interior; Reich Protector, Bohemia and Moravia.

DIETRICH, Sepp: SS commander in Berlin; Commander of Waffen SS in France.

ELTZ-Rübenach; Cuno von; Landesbauern führer, Rheinprovinz.

EMMERT, Ernst: President, Oberlandsgericht, Nürnberg

EBERSTEIN, Karl von: SS Obergruppen führer; Police President, Munich. Eberhardt Marine Brigade.

EGGALING, Albrecht: Gauleiter, Halle-Merseburg

ENGELBRECHT, Otto: NSKOV

ENGLER-FÜSSLEN, Fritz: SS Staudartern führer; Gauamtsleiter, Baden und Elsass.

EPP, Franz von: Reichsleiter; Reichs statthalter, Bavaria; SS Obergruppen führer.

ERDMANN, Walter: Landesbauern führer, Saxony.

FLORIAN, Friedrich: Gauleiter, Düsseldorf; Prussian State Council; SS Gruppen führer

FRICK, Wilhelm: Reich Minister of Interior

FRITSCH, Karl

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GLASMEIER, Heinrich: Director, Grossdeutsche Rundfunk.

GREISER, Artur: Reichs Governor, Warthe land; SS obergruppen führer.

GROENEVELD, Jacques: Landes bauern führer, Weser-Erns

GROHE, Joseph: Gauleiter, Cologne-Aacher; SS obergruppen führer.

GUTTERER, Leopold: Director, UFA; Chief of Foreign Propaganda, Ministry of Propaganda

HADAMOUSKY, Eugen: Chief of Staff, Ministry of Propaganda.

HAYLER, Franz: Chief, Reichsgruppe Handel; SS ober führer

HELLMUTH, Otto: Gauleiter, Main frunken.

HERGENRÖDER, Adolf: Reichstag; Gauamtsleiter; SS Haupt sturm-führer.

HIERL, Konstantin: Reichsleiter; Chief, Reich Labor Service.

HILDEBRANT, Friedrich: Gauleiter, Mecklenberg -Schweren. SS obergruppen führer.

HINKEL, Hans: Chief Editor, Reich Chamber of culture; Reichs delegate for care of wounded service men.

HÖFLE, Hermann: NSKK obergruppen führer

JORDON, Rudolf: SA obergruppen führer; Gauleiter, Magdeburg-~~Aubolt~~. ANHALT.

JÜTTNER, Max: Chief, SA Führungsamt.

KAUFMANN, Karl: SS obergruppen führer; NSKK; Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter, Hamburg.

KOLBORD, K.F.; Landeshauptmann, Westfalen.

KILLINGER, Manfred von: SA obergruppen führer; minister to Rumania.

KOCH, Erich: Reichs Commissioner, Ukraine; Gauleiter, East Prussia.

KRÜGER, Friedrick-Wilhelm: Senior SS and Police Leader, Government-General.

KÜCHLER, Georg von: General feld marschall.

LINDEN, Karl: Deputy Gauleiter, Hessen-Nassau.

LIEBRANDT, Georg:

LOEPER, Friedrich von:

LORENZ, Werner: SS Obergruppenführer; Chief of Resettlement Staff, Reichskommussars für die Festigung der Deutchen Volksturns.

LUTZE, Viktor: late chief of staff of SA.

MAZER, Franz: SS Brigade führer; District President, Upper Bavaria

MEINBERG, Wilhelm: SS Gruppen führer; Commissioner for Coal Transit.

MILCH, Erhard: Air Marshal: Armament Council.

MÜHLEN, Leo von: Director, Central Office for East Research.

MÜLLER, Henrich: President, Rechnungshof des deutschen Reiches.

MÜNDERLER, Eugen: Chief Editor, Das Reich.

NAGEL, Willi: NSKK.

NEUBERT, Reinhard: President, Reichs Lawyers Chamber.

PREL, Max: Secretary, Association of National Journalist Associations.

PRIESS, Hermann: SS.

RAUTER, Hans: SS chief in Netherlands.

REEDER, Eggert: Chief of Military Administration, Belgium.

RIECKE, Joachim: Reichs nährstand.

RUBERG, F.B.: SS

RUST, Bernhard: Minister for Education.

SCHEPMANN, Wilhelm: Commander, SA

SCHMELT, Albrecht: District president Oppeln

SEIDLER, Walther: Reichstag; SS Standartenführer.

SELZNER, Klaus: Commissioner General, DNJEPROPETROVSK; Reichsobmann, NSBO.

SIMON, Gustav: Gauleiter, Moselland.

TESCHE, Georg: Deputy Gauleiter, Halle-Merseberg.

TRAEG, Georg: Deputy Gauleiter, Schwaben.

UEBELHOER, Friedrich: Kreisleiter, Naumberg.

WEBER, Friedrich: Chief, Department III, Ministry of Interior

WEINRICH, Karl: Gauleiter, Kurhessen; SS Gruppen führer; NSKK Obergruppen führer;

WEISS, Wilhelm: SS Obergruppen führer; editor, Volkischer Beobachter.

WOLFF, Karl: SS Obergruppenführer; chief of Himmler's personal stuff.

WOYRSCH, Udo von: SS Obergruppenführer.